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and the meeting breaks up in a battle. In this case the opponents form martial alliances, and the fight continues until one side has been defeated and made to pay indemnity to the other. Even when the council ends peacefully it takes at least a week before they reach an agreement» (14).

To his may be appended a short but very apt summation of the situation by Col. Blanco: «En el Rif, donde todos son personajes, sólo una política de masas y no de individuos puede ser fructífera» (15).

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In the Rīf, up to the advent of ʿAbd al-Karīm, the state of war was so permanent that it can truthfully be said that if is customary for Europeans or Americans to declare war, it was also customary for the Riffians to declare peace. We must remember that the *thārfiqth* was the unit of vengeance, and that feuds between *thārfiqīn* even within the same village were a commonplace. House-to-house fighting was the order of they day. If a feud kept going long enough, the result was that the other *thārfiqīn* in the same and in nearby villages eventually began to group themselves around either one of the two feuding parties, usually with the one which was closer kin to themselves. Thus we have the beginnings of a moiety organization, equivalent to the *ṣof* of the Kabyles of Algeria. If the members of one moiety gradually found themselves on the losing side, their representatives used to lead a bull to the mosque of a neutral village or *thārfiqth* the aid of which they desired, and the *faqīh* slaughtered it on the sill so that its blood spurted over the threshold. The fact that a bull was sacrificed whenever possible is significant in itself, as the Wuryāghlīs [262] are very poor and largely vegetarians by force of circumstances; a bull is the most expensive edible animal they can buy. The act of sacrifice worked as a powerful shame compulsion *(ʿār)*, and forced the members of the second group into alliance with the first, whether they were willing or not. This type of alliance was called *liff*, as mentioned above, and as the feud grew in size, so did the *liff*. If the feud remained localized, alliances were usually made anew after it was over; but if it spread enough to involve whole «fifths», the traditional *liff* alignment of the two opposing moieties of Aith Yūsuf and Aith ʿAlī came into play again. The clever manipulation of this

(14) Coon, 1931, p. 97.
(15) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 67.

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system of alliances which 'Abd al-Karīm displayed during the early part oh his war was one of the major reasons for his successful unification of the Rīf (16).

It must the stated here, however, that it was unusual for most feuds to become anything more than shootings on a local scale. First of all, feuding kept the population down; sescondly, house burnings and exaction of fines by the *imghāren* were harsh repressive measures in themselves; thirdly, the constant fear of outside invasion by the councillors of another tribe (which occurred wen the *imghāren* of Aith 'Ammarth stepped in on the side of Aith Yūsuf to end a feud between the latter and Aith 'Alī, plus the standard alignment of other «fifths», which had been going on for seven years) tended to restrict the scope of the feud and to prevent it from spreading; and fourthly, individuals who were considered habitual troublemakers and soreheads even by Riffian standards were exiled. If they refused to accept the dictum of the *imghāren* they were unceremoniously put to death.

The above is a reflection of the Riffian political system and situation which prevailed up until the time of 'Abd al-Karīm. The governmental structure of Aith Wuryāghil followed to the letter the true Berber pattern of superimposed representative councils, with a few of the members of each deliberative body being chosen to participate in the council of the group a rung higher up the ladder. Furthermre, thanks to the *liff* alliance system, as Blanco says, the individual in the *thārfiqth*, the *thārfiqth* in the *jamā'ath*, the *jamā'ath* in the «fifth», the «fifth» in the tribe *(thaqbīt*, pl. *thaqbīr*, from Arabic *qabīla*, pl. *qabā'il)*, and the tribe in relation to other tribes all maintain an unstable equilibrium, expressed in terms of the linking of *rubū'* or of «fifths», and ultimately, in the two great rival moieties of Ṣinhāja and Ghumāra (17). As it happens in our particular case, Aith Wuryāghil was (and is) too large and powerful to need formal alliances with other tribes, its only active ally having been Aith 'Ammarth, for, as many old greybeards have told me, «We could still go out and eat Tamsamān or Aith Tuzīn any day of the week»; but for small tribes surrounded by big neighbors, such as Thafarsīth,

(16) Coon, 1951, p. 317.
(17) Blanco Izaga, 1939, p. 70.

592 593 The mother has the right to punish her children, but cannot wound them.

[562] Sons enjoy a preferential situation within the family; they help their father in agricultural tasks and in defense of the hearth and patrimony. They watch over the women of the house. Those of age 883 [785] (i.e. who have reached puberty)[46] start to fast during the month of Ramadan, as well as starting to plow and harvest the crops, after they have become too old to pasture goats. On reaching puberty, also, sons may spend nights away from home or be absent for periods of time.

[584] They do not own property. If a son should reject the matrimonial proposition (put to him by his father) he must look for the bride-price (himself), telling his father of this obligation. He may leave his home without having to renounce his inheritance. After marriage, 885 593 although living in his father's house, he builds a bread-oven in [591] order to separate his meals from those of his father. He is then a contributor (apart from his father, who generally hands land over to him to work, but who is not obliged to give him his share of the [594] inheritance.) He pays his fines, and contributes his turn to the fqih's barley allotment, and forms a separate nubth on his own. 883 On reaching puberty, he attends the mosque and goes to markets and 885 weddings; when he marries, he begins to take part in the council 623 meetings to defend his rights; he enters a liff[47]; and sometimes he 616 794 becomes a member of a religious brotherhood[48].

575 Sons and daughters are their father's property. A divorced 593 wife, even though nursing a child, cannot take it with her; and there 586 have been cases in which her own father has returned her children to her husband.

614 site of the clan assemblies or igrawen (sing. agrau); master masons and carpenters; a loom; grain mills and olive presses. The clan has memories of men and places which tradition perpetuates and puts, because of their symbolic virtues, above the daily fratricidal struggles, taking them beyond the poisoned and corrupted ambit of the village and the vicious atmosphere of the jma'th in order to breathe purer air (as it were), that of the multitudes, of sociability, and
614 of humanity. For this purpose it is allotted a special day and a
443 special place (i.e. market day and the market) in which a truce is
796 established, and in which the human voice acquires its noble sound and drowns out the dry crack of the rifle shot. Interestingly enough, Friday is not the day which Islam sanctifies as the day of rest[82]; the market day is in fact the day when the Rifian rests and finds peace among his fellow believers.

614 The clan is not a rudimentary institution merely involving
621 social coexistence, like the jma'th. The clan gains in spirituality
623 what it gains from an economic standpoint in territorial amplitude through the wider association of groups of interest. The clan resolves graver and more transcendent matters than the jma'th does.

614 The clan independence (read "autonomy") is determined by the
619 promulgation of the executive force of proper clan law within an
● 616 elastic (author's italics) geographical perimeter, and by the possibility of the clan subsisting on its own resources, this independence, this liberty, has a limit, an area of movement, a radius which is fixed, as in all these associations studied here, by the higher power of the tribe and by that of the liffs or alliance systems, as the

614 latter are an incommensurable force in which both the individual and/or
[619] the group(s) to which he belongs may take refuge...Thus, if the clan
[616] has a geographic character[83], its primary distinguishing features are its customary law, its qanums and its market (as in the qanum of the Wednesday Market of Sidi Bu 'Afif, which marks the jurisdiction of this market and the men who admit the same and arrange their lives in accordance with it--see La Ley Rifeña, 2a Parte, pp. 59-68).

619 4) Tribe or Dhaqbitsh: The tribe is the highest-level form of
614 clan association (i.e. a tribe is made up by a given number of clans or maximal segments). The function of a tribe, also, has on this
619 level been transformed into that of maintaining interclan equilibrium
614 (i.e. the theory of segmental balance and opposition), which is
671 guided by the same norms as within each clan, and if it actually has
182 no overall customary law common to it as a single unit[84], it nonetheless forces...any of its delinquent members to rectify any errors, faults or mistakes he may make, but always in accordance with the law
619 of his clan. Thus we may observe that, within the tribes, their clans
614 form two balanced and equilibrated lfuf (pl. of liff), or liffs, as
616 the tribes, on their own level, do in turn[85], and as even the dharfiqin
[613] of a given jma'th do, two, three or four rungs down the ladder. It
[621] would seem to be these liffs which have always served to watch over
[623] and maintain the continued existence of the "fractions" and tribes, while at the same time having been responsible for a fierce opposition to penetration of the area on the part of the Makhzin (both Moroccan and Spanish)...If the jma'th is the secondary school of Rifian democracy, the "fraction" is its high school and its tribe the university.

619 Thirmamin, Ifillasen, Asht r-Ahsin u Musa, Afarzaz and Tiyuririn.
614 Shaikh (1940): Muhammad Bu Thuyis.
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d) Clan ("fraction") of Asht Mhand: contains villages of Asht Bujtuh, Asht Tayyar and Asht Ziyan. Shaikh (1940): Muhammad n Ka'was.

e) Clan ("fraction") of Asht Yunis: contains villages of Azru, Asht Hazim, Thaghirasth, Ihadhriyen, r-'Arqub and Ikhabbaben.

f) Clan ("fraction") of Asht 'Aru 'Aisa: contains villages of Dwaiyar, Tighza, Jbil Sidi 'Aisa, Waumkwarth and Thinimrar. Shaikh (1940): 'Abd r-Qadar n Muhand Aqudhadh.

g) Clan ("fraction") of Asht 'Asim: one part contains villages of Ifran, Iqarru'an and Iharrasen; another, those of Buridh, Tamjund and Iharrushen; and the third, Inhanahan, Iharshriyen and Thara Tazzugwakhth. The shaikhs of each (1940): 'Abdallah n Zimbib, Muh n Mis'aud and Si Muh n Biqqish.

175 8) History:--There are no precise dates on the history of the Igzinnayen until the occupation of the tribe by the Pretender Bu Hmara. It appears that prior to this time the tribe was consumed in intestinal [628] [616] struggles between lfuf, as all Berber and Arab tribes were. These were disputes without interest in which the fortune and existence of the protagonists and their people were at stake.

175 554 When Bu Hmara (Jilali Zarhuni) occupied the country of the Igzinnayen, he came to the qasba at Msun (in the Asht r-Udha), and afterwards he met with the subclans of the Asht Haddu and I'athmanen[171]. Useless resistance on the part of the latter was severely punished, and their two chiefs, the Hajj Hammada and the Fqih 'Abbu, brought to heel,

619 that in the Igzinnayen, the Asht Mhand were intrusive "fifth wheels" exactly as the Imrabdhen were in the Aith Waryaghar. Coon (op. cit., 619 1931, p. 19), on the other hand, calls them "autochthonous heathen" 114 because of their origin traditions, and this would accord more with the two-segment division above, which assigns them to a firmer position in the total structure (even though elsewhere in the same work, on p. 92, Coon himself endorses a five-fold division). The two-619 segment division, afforded us by the shaikh of Asht 'Aru 'Aisa, is probably the more correct one, although the hypothesis of the Qa'id 616 Haddu is attractive from the standpoint of balance and imbalance of 114 liffs, and it is supported indirectly by Blanco's statement in the text that the Asht Mhand came originally from the Mtalsa, which would help explain their later liff affiliations.

The two liffs of the Igzinnayen were those of Asht Bu 'Amar and Asht r-Manth, with affiliations as above, so that in this tribe, the liff system did not cut across the segmentary system as in Aith Waryaghar, but was, rather, co-extensive with it. Not only this, but it corresponded, in general, to Blanco's notion of "northern" and "southern" liffs, although without the "Berber vs. Arab" overtones which he suggests. It is true, furthermore, that the moiety of Asht Bu 'Amar, which was bigger than that of Asht r-Manth, usually won, although it is theoretically possible, as the Qa'id Haddu implied, that the presence of Asht Mhand in the Asht Bu 'Amar liff may have tipped the balance. However, this is purely speculation, and in any event liff affiliations shifted about the time of World War I or very shortly thereafter, and before the rise to power of 'Abd al-Krim: one moiety, consisting of Asht 'Asim and Asht 'Aru 'Aisa only, crystallized around the person of the Hajj Muhand Biqqish of Ikhuwanen (Asht 'Asim), who became the most powerful man in Igzinnayen and who was eventually poisoned by 'Abd al-Krim; and the other, consisting of the rest of the tribe, formed around Si Hmid Ubarshan of Azru (Asht Yunis). It may be noted that this shift in alliances did nothing to restore a balance, and the two liffs remained as asymmetrical as they had done previously.

After the crystallization of this alignment, the neighboring 619 tribes became involved as follows: in favor of Biqqish were the Aith 616 'Ammarth (who were his affines), the Timarzga of the Aith Waryaghar (into whom Biqqish's daughter had married) and thus also classificatory affines), the Iznagen of the Axt Tuzin; and after the death of Qa'id 'Amar Hamidu, half of the Marnisa; and in favor of Si Hmid Ubarshan were the Aith Turirth and Aith 'Arus of the Aith Waryaghar (who were against the Timarzga), the rest of Axt Tuzin, the rest of the Marnisa, Mtalsa, and Branis. And the disequilibrium of forces still held.

[114] Blanco's statement, therefore, that Axt Tuzin helped the "northern" liff (of Asht Bu 'Amar) and that Mtalsa and Branis helped the "southern" liff (of Asht r-Manth) is entirely plausible. The Axt Tuzin are neighbors of the Asht Yunis, while the Mtalsa borders the Asht Mhand, and the Branis are bounded by the Asht r-Udha; and this would explain why all three tribes later came to support the liff of Si Hmid Ubarshan. It should be noted, however, that wars between the Igzinnayen and the Branis were very frequent; and when they occurred, the tendency was for the former to patch up their own differences and gang up on the latter.

000 152--This is true, and as Coon indicates, it is probably a hall-mark of considerable antiquity. See Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 19, for traditions of origin of the clans and subclans of the Igzinnayen, many of which conflict with those given by Blanco below.

153--True; but does this necessitate the employment of value judgments as to physical type and temperament?

154--According to our notes, the Dharwa Haddu are autochthonous to Igzinnayen.

[613] [628] 155--According to Coon (op. cit., 1931, p. 105), many people of the dharfiqth of Asht 'Abd r-Mumin in the village of Iharrushen, of Asht 'Asim Proper, went to l-Mta as exiles after their feud with the Asht Tadmuth; the Hajj Biqqish, in fact, was a moving spirit in banishing them, as one of their members shot three of the Asht Tadmuth on the feast day of the 'Aid l-Khir. Perhaps poverty was also a factor in the move to l-Mta of members of other lineages in the Asht 'Asim.

156--Ishillahan: our notes state that their origin traditions are not from Andalusia, but from the Eastern Rifian tribe on the Aith Wurishik, which would accord better with their "Berber" name.

157--Ihadhriyen: our notes say that they have nothing to do with the Jbarna, other than that they are members of the same tribe.

158--Thaghirasth is autochthonous to the Igzinnayen, according to our notes.

159--Asht r-'Arqub: our notes contain no reference to Sidi 'Azzuz, in connection with the lineage.

160--Ikhabbaben: our notes contain no reference, regarding them, to Branis.

161--Asht Hazim: our notes, regarding them, contain no reference to Aith Iznasan.

162--To our knowledge they are all local lineages.

163--The Asht 'Aru 'Aisa are more properly descended from Sidi Ahmad, the son of Sidi Musa bin Mshish, and known as Sidi Hand u Musa. He is buried in Swaiyar, in the Asht 'Aru 'Aisa, while his father is buried in Jbil 'Alam of Bni 'Arus of the Jbala. Aru 'Aisa ('Ali u 'Aisa, or 'Ali bin 'Aisa) himself, the real apex of the lineage, is to be found some 11 generations later than Sidi Hand u Musa on the geneaology of these shurfa, whose authenticity is beyond question and is recognized in the right, which they exercise, to share in the annual proceeds of the box (sunduq) of Mulay Idris in Fez.

It is also said that 'Abd al-Krim was descended from the shurfa Sidi Hand u Musa of Asht 'Aru 'Aisa.

[616] 164--The Asht 'Asim and Imzdurar, each being the strongest representative of its respective liff, almost certainly formed the kernel of such a nucleus; but it seems to us that the Asht Yunis might be substituted for the Asht Marar, which is only a subclan of the Imzdurar.

000 [114] [311] 165--The "hospitality" of the landscape around the Mulwiya River contradicts Blanco's earlier remark about unproductivity; and the Central Rif itself, in any event, is one of the poorest and most barren regions of Morocco.

166--"Primary instruction", or ta'lim al-awwal, is the basic Qur'anic instruction which the fqih gives young boys in the village mosque, while "secondary instruction", or ta'lim ath-thani, is a step beyond this--post-graduate study, as it were, in the Friday mosque. By this time the amhadar has become a tarib; he can theoretically read and write the Qur'an, and he also becomes versed in the writing of charms and amulets and the sewing of jillabas.

[431] 167--Ma'ruf is a gift of either money or food to the students in the mosque.

168--The most obvious spring in the Asht Marar, Thara Tazzugwakhth or, in Arabic, 'Ain Hamra, which produces the best mineral water in the Rif, even though it only trickles out of the source, is not mentioned.

169--These last three communities are traditionally affiliated with the clan of Imzdurar, not with Asht 'Asim.

170--The Imrabdhen of Wawizaght are also termed Imrabdhen Ya'gubi, and are considered shurfa.

171--Midbuh was from Asht r-Udha; Buhut r-'Asimi, as his name indicates, from Buridh in Asht 'Asim; and 'Allal n Dahu from Asht Mhand.

172--For "anarchy", read "Ripublik".

[616] [578] 173--Of Azru, who later became the head of one of the main tribal liffs in opposition to Hajj Biqqish of Ikhuwanen in Asht 'Asim.

174--Now held at Tizi Usli.

[616] [619] 175--In his earlier years, however, Biqqish only had control of his own liff of Asht 'Asim and Asht 'Aru 'Aisa, while Si Hmid Ubarshan had the rest of the tribe under his thumb.

[613] [616] The dharfiqth of Yinn 'Ari Mqaddim in Aith Yusif of Thimarzga in Aith Waryaghar were Biqqish's in-laws, through the marriage of his daughter Mimuna to Muh n 'Amar jn-Mqaddim (see text); and the liff created between Biqqish and this single lineage of Aith Waryaghar was strong enough for them to support him against 'Abd al-Krim later on; and 'Abd al-Krim, in consequence, burned their houses.

176--Afuzar is on the border of Aith Waryaghar and Igzinnayen, between Asrafil (Thimarzga) on the Waryaghar side and Iharrushen (Asht 'Asim) on that of the Igzinnayen.

[176] [178] 177--The principal saint of the Marnisa. Near the Monday Market of the Aith 'Ammarth is the mosque of Sidi 'Ari n Dawud, where the Aith 'Ammarth all go to take oath; but Sidi 'Ari himself is buried in Marnisa.

178--The date of Biqqish's death is not certain, but probably early 1926. His body was taken to the cemetery at Ikhuwanen for burial.

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This internal equilibrium between dharfiqin was maintained, more than by the play of (within) the jma'th, by the liff alliance system which, linking tribes, clans, communities and lineages into two rival bands, created the miracle of permitting the existence of minuscule units of this type amongst others more powerful, although the clarification of this point would take us further away from our present intentions.

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Security in external relations was attained by the connection with the upper-level units, clan and tribe, and verified by means of their representatives and the contingents of armed men which on special occasions they had to send as irregular tribal troops in a harka, which defended group interests in any revolts or fratricidal struggles.

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The representatives of the jma'th in its external relations are locally known by the name of imgharen, and more commonly by the Arabized term aitharbi'in (the forty: sic), because each khums (one-fifth of the tribe) generally provided eight representatives (sic)[10]. These men of the aitharbi'in were generally accompanied by an escort of aith amzzyan (or aith umzzyan?)[11] who officiated both as advisers and as witnesses to the agraw or council meeting where questions of common interest were aired and examined.

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When these questions necessitated armed expeditions outside the unit concerned, the (manpower) quota which each jma'th had to provide

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[114] 10--This makes a neat mathematical model, but in practice it is based upon a false premise, as it has been demonstrated previously that the term aitharbi'in refers in fact to "representatives of the people" and that it has nothing whatsoever to do with the notion of "forty".

[114] 11--The concept of aith umzzyan or imzzyanen, "little ones", "minors", as participants in the Rifian political system is, again, erroneous. It is only in the present paper that Blanco introduces the concept in this fashion.

726 strength of those who were first on the spot, and so that the points which were most threatened could be easily and quickly reinforced. [182] [701] The dissemination of contingents was imposed by geographical factors (i.e. by the extreme poverty of an area which is excessively compartmented and rought country), by political ones (i.e. lack of a single head at the top of the chain of command other than individuals of purely local prestige, and a recruitment system which set limits on the employment of large units) and even by technical ones (i.e. the European notion of reducing the defense of fixed points of strategic interest, as well as in finding them, is difficult for Rifians to assimilate, for they themselves merely wait in their hilltop houses, etc.)[8].

C) Rifian Alliances (fragmentary):

619 628 181 [602] The Rif was a mosaic of independent tribes, gnawed at by internal disputes in an inhospitable land. It was a powder-keg of individual personalities who placated misfortunes with more misfortunes, with misery, envy and egotism; each one of these men were followed by minuscule groups of kinsmen and partisans, with no tie greater to oppose an invader than their own ambition and convenience....

619 There was in the Rif, however, a certain internal equilibrium by which small tribes like the Targist, Thafarsith and Aith Wurishik[9] could persist, even though surrounded by powerful neighbors.

619 616 [648] Alliances seem the logical and necessary step to which the Rifians had recourse when threatened by superior powers, such as that of the Sultans. The main significance of alliances lies in defense against a common danger, as well as in its concomitant, mutual aid;

619 but in the Rif, alliances were limited to the practical idea of the
616 defense of the Rifians' own interests, for neither their religion nor their political system nor any other abstract notion or value or in-
[181] stitution, great or small, was the cause. Islam, independence and security were the trinity to which the whole little Rifian world[10] administered its sacrament as only spiritual appetite, desire for coexistence in free and minuscule republican units[11], and security of
619 property and persons....The regular functioning of its structure, with
616 its trilateral organization of blood, family ties (marriage; jajgu or
182 branch; and dharfiqth or trunk[12]) and social units (jma'th, clan and dhaqbitsh) and institutions (communal and religious services[13], markets and qanum), could never have been justified alone, because the Rifians needed to take refuge in a complementary system of alliances, which they would do until another more powerful force from outside, such as a relatively strong and centralized Makhzin, succeeded in reducing such a function to smoldering embers.

Rifian alliances were thus the refuge of individuals or groups when the norms of coexistence were broken or when the danger of individual or group preponderance surged up within a social unit, threatening its equilibrium. The alliance which originated in the rivalries between kin groups rose up to clan and even tribal levels, and in some instances it could even spread beyond tribal borders to extend itself over the whole area. In this way the two great enemy groups of Sanhaja and Ghumara came into being; and although they are to a large extent confused recollections in the minds of old men[14], the latter also bring to life, through their descriptions, the voracious conflagrations

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5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
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616 619 648 193 616 619 182 into which a minute initial event (i.e. the cause of the war) had developed, while the echo of gunshots and the splendors of vengeance lit up the Rifian mountain landscape....The Rifian alliance is established as a precaution taken by a weak man faced by the dangers of disequilibrium within the social group of which he is a member, and it comes into play when the norms of coexistence are broken....When one studies life in the dispersed hamlets of the Rif, one sees at once how personal ambition and rival interests could, in the last analysis, break up their inhabitants and realign them into two or three rival bands[15] of more or less equal strength. When there are three such 616 619 bands[16], one of them acts as a buffer or cushion between the other two in order to maintain equilibrium and to prepare for the worst through alliance with neighboring villages or groups. This also happens with clans, and even with tribes.

[829] All of native science in the difficult art of government resides in a perfect knowledge and evaluation of these bands and of the rivalries which separate them in their own rich personal experience.... A great many tribal wars may be explained through the preference of one band, in a system of equilibrium of forces and balance of power, and through the logical reaction of the opposite band, which considered itself underestimated or slighted! The personalities and moving spirits in each band are also a factor to be considered[17].

616 621 [602] Ordinarily the people in a village group themselves into two opposed bands of equal strength. When there are three such bands or if equilibrium is for any reason upset, the foresight of the weak obliged them to ally themselves with family groups in neighboring villages, thus giving rise to the linkages[18] discussed earlier.

villages, thus giving rise to the linkages[18] discussed earlier.

D) Political Organization:

1) The Individual Liff:--The liff is the union of individuals or groups of individuals in ways and means and towards ends to be discussed below....When one sees, over a period of time, two Rifians going together to markets, weddings and saints' tombs, as well as to each other's houses, and engaging in long and earnest conversations while sitting under a fig tree, etc., it is said that they, A and B, are not only imddukar (sing. amddukar), or friends, but that they are in liff; or rather, that A is in B's liff, if the latter has greater prestige.

The tie which unites these two individuals is not the same as one which might bind two Europeans together, for the bond between the latter may be that of affinity of ideas and interests, and in any case, both persons concerned have at the same time many other independent friendships. The European is both indefinite and free, but a Rifian cannot exist by himself. The European associate only shares a part of his freedom; a Rifian in analogous circumstances would enslave it all. A European can change his friendships, but a Rifian cannot abandon his liff mate if the latter is attacked. For, lacking any higher organization, would any warlike society, like that of the Rif, admit a disloyal person, a coward, a deserter or turncoat? And what, in a society so given to feuding, would an isolated or neutral individual be able to do?[19]....I suspect, indeed, that the celebrated hospitality of the Rifians and their faithfulness to the given word are not so much personality traits as simply results of their system of alliances[20].

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

616 [182] Individual liffs bind together individuals or families, persons and possessions, and make for solidarity in the payment of fines, in both defense and attack[21].

2) General Liff:--I think the raison d'etre of the general liff to be purely defensive. These large-scale liffs are real military [619] alliances brought about in order to maintain territorial integrity, and it is they which have permitted the coexistence of minuscule tribes alongside of large and powerful ones. The situation in this respect is analogous to that of Switzerland in Europe; and among the most typical Switzerlands in the Rif are the Thafarsith and the Aith 'Amarth[22].....In a general liff, it is not individual or kin group interests which are in opposition to each other and come into play, but rather the jurisdictional limits and the autonomy of the social [613] groupings (i.e. clans) which integrate them. The general liff obligates with the same end and binds together with the same strength [191] the individuals belonging to rival dharfiqin. There is thus, I think, a notable difference in the two classes of liffs, although the end result or defensive spirit is the same[23]; analogously, there are alliances between European nations which are destined to preserve their independence, as well as friendships of more of an individual or economic character between their members....The national liff, to call it [562] thus, cannot be confused with the social forms which have already been considered above, for while the latter place mutual obligations upon and bind together individuals and lands, the general liff usually applies only to men and binds together only warriors[24].

616 The jma'th, the clan and the tribe, in spite of swamping
614 their territory with the blood of their brothers and fellow members,
619 are invariably and unchangingly preserved, for the desire of expansion
[621] on the part of their neighbors was always held in check by a tremendous fear of the liff, whose mysterious strength was never known previously[25]....And here we have a strange game or interplay between these
616 two types of liff, for while the individual type, with its sanguinary
182 feuds with neighbors, tends toward the disintegration of the social
628 units involved, the general type remains permanent and intact, tending to neutralize or localize the hatreds which the quarrels of the individual type can engender.[26]

618 As today (1935) the central power (i.e. the Spanish Protec-
692 torate or Makhzin) is strong enough to put individual and group disputes
616 up to arbitration, guaranteeing the enjoyment of his or their rights
182 to each person or group involved, the general liffs are disappearing and the individual ones are weakening; but in my opinion, if any real commotion began, liff alliances would surge up anew, even though today they exist largely in the minds of old men.[27]

616 Robert Montagne, in Les Berbères et le Makhzen (p. 216), says of all this:

> "When we study the existence of little elementary societies, we are struck both by the tyranny exercised by the group over the individual and by the impotence of the former to keep away from anarchy. The liffs materialize and project on ground level, we might say, the two opposite and complementary tendencies of Berber life: the spirit of association and the taste for discord."

My own feeling on the matter, however, is that the liff system is the complement of the other two types of unity, family and kin group

616 (social), for a man only goes to his liff when the other two types fail him. Thus we see individuals or groups, when they are helpless, calling for their liffs in defense of their rights or taking refuge with them when, conquered or routed, they abandon their own hearths.

61 621 Tribes and their clans, and jma'ths and their kin groups or dharfiqin are generally divided into two balanced, symmetrical and mutually hostile parties; and it is in such an equilibrium that we find the strength of each group, no matter how insignificant that group may appear, and the weakness of the whole tribe, which is only welded together if threatened from outside.

616 619 621 623 In essence, in the tribe of the Aith Waryaghar, the innumerable feuds between jma'ths are reduced to two parties, within each council, whose quarrel, perhaps rather than for hegemony, is a dispute of interests. But, in discussing parties, let us rid ourselves of the 642 795 notions which these have for Europeans, either in forms of government or in religion. In such simple questions, Republic[28] and Islam have been in agreement for a long time. The Rifian states were religious republics governed by laymen, we might say. Well and good: above and 616 beyond these quarrels and ferocious feuds, the Aith Waryaghar knew how to ally themselves, absolutely independently of these, to other groups, indicating that the motive forces which underlay each class of alli- 619 ance were different[29]. Thus we see, for example, how the five khmas (sing. khums) of the Aith Waryaghar were allied or opposed to each other, and how they constituted two mutually hostile bands; the Aith 'Adhiya, Aith 'Ari and Aith 'Abd Allah on one side, and the rest on the other[30]. In my opinion, these two bands represent the most obvious

619 brake or check upon the expanding hunger of neighbors as well as upon the hegemony of some determined individual.

175 619 But with the threat of the Rogi, Bu Hmara[31], expressed in the form of the mhalla or military expedition under the command of Jilali Mul al-Wudhu[32] (Muludu), we see the Aith Waryaghar reacting violently and uniting, for the first time in their history, as the result of an agraw at Imzuren, nominating their war chief, mounting guard on the line of resistance parallel to the Nkur River, from Imudh (in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash) to the Mediterranean, and joyfully accepting the hard task, magnificently performed, of smashing Bu Hmara's army to bits and sending it back in headlong retreat to Qasba Silwan.

619 616 175 In the same way, we also see the khums of Aith 'Abd Allah, in liff with the Ibuqquyen, joining the other khmas of Aith Waryaghar to fight against that tribe, as auxiliaries in the punitive expedition of Bushta al-Baghdadi[33]; and thus we see that tribal interests were always superior to clan ones[34].

616 182 [621] [619] [614] For this reason, the mechanism of the liff is simply conservative and not disintegrative, as might seem the case from other points of view. If in the jma'th it equalizes the forces which are feuding, it does the same in the tribe with the rival clans, and in the overall Rifian area with hostile tribes, everywhere balancing the inferiority of weak groups with the strength of its own men. It may be possible to explain in this fashion why in spite of the feverish, ephemeral and unlucky vicissitudes of such minuscule states, they never came to the point of disappearing altogether, while at the same time and by the same token they never permitted the duration of empires

616 or similar agglomerates. This might also perhaps explain the persis-
182 tence in disorder up to exhaustion point, for thanks to an obscure
[628] family feud, a chain reaction would unleash violence throughout the
[578] whole region as fast as a burning cigarette can produce a forest fire[35].

616 There is no doubt that through their origins the tribes can
619 be classified into two great groups, Sanhaja and Ghumara, which formed
101 the two great Rifian alliances of the same names, and between which the Rifian tribes were distributed in an apparent equilibrium, as follows[36]:

Ghumara: Ibuqquyen, Aith Yittuft, Aith 'Ammarth, Mtiwa dyal Bhar (Mtiwa of the Sea), Ghmara Proper (Bni Rzin, Bni Khalid, Bni Silman, Bni Zjil, Bni Buzra, Bni Mansur, Bni Grir, Bni Smih and Bni Ziyat), Bni S'aid (of the Jbala, not the Rifian tribe of Aith S'aid), Bni Zarwal, Bni Zarwal, Bni Winjil, Slas, Hiyaina, Branis, Igzinnayen[37], Marnisa, Mtiwa dyal Uta (Mtiwa of the Plain), Bni Mstara and Ghzawa.

Sanhaja: Bni Bu Frah, Bni Gmil, Mistasa[38], Aith Waryaghar, l-Khmas, Bni Waryagil[39], Jaya, Mzzyat, Rgiwa, Dsul, Rhuna, and Sanhaja Srir (Ktama, Aith Siddat, Aith Khannus, Taghzut, Aith Hmid, Aith Bshir, Aith Bu Nsar and Bni Bu Shibt).

616 However, it seems somewhat limited to attribute the basis of Rifian political preferences and the reason for alliances in the region to this dim and garbled tradition of the very distant past[40]. If, on the other hand, the form of government or religion were in dispute, it would be easier to explain its affinities to the European type[44]. Furthermore, if we discard as vaguely traditional such causes of union

A, [This should read "41" not "44"--Analyst]
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616 as were forgotten by the people, we have no others to explain the liff system save external autonomy and internal equilibrium. The liff is the opponent of group hegemony, as the latter is of the preponderance of one family, and it thus results as a protector of both. This was the cause of the ephemeral character of the empires founded upon such a powder-keg, a mosaic of minuscule autonomous republics, as of the transitory periods of tyranny which they would have undergone. If external danger brought about the sacred interclan unity, internal danger (rivalries and hegemony) separated them, seeing them forced to support themselves, now divided, in other neighboring tribes[42].

[614] Whatever may have been the cause of these alliances, it is certain that among the clans of a tribe there were two bands which put them into this framework and gave them this frame of reference....And if their ethnic origin permits us, in principle, to reestablish the division of the tribes which gave its name to the two great liffs (Sanhaja and Ghumara), it is in the equilibrium and autonomy (author's italics) thus established and in operation that we see the origin and persistence of the other two liffs commented upon, among the Aith Waryaghar[43].

616 619 Perhaps among the Aith Waryaghar, different aspects of this interpretation may be corroborated. We see their khmas or "fifths" allying themselves one against the other to form two rival groups and thus equalizing their internal strength and avoiding attempts at

[101] supremacy by individual clans. And we also see how the Aith 'Abd Allah and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash look for their internal security in the tribes which border them, the first uniting with the "Badisiya" tribes of the A A A A, [Apparently footnote "44" should appear here--Analyst]

616 Ibuqquyen, the Aith Yittuft and the Bni Bu Frah on the one hand, while
619 the second unites with the Axt Tuzin and the Thimsaman on the other,
101 thus giving rise to a curious small and narrow passage across the territory of the Sanhajan (sic) tribe of the Aith Waryaghar, through which the Ghumaran tribes can communicate[45]. This might be borne out through other possible passages of the same type which, if found, would widen our political conceptualizations of this problem and might explain the apparent anomaly of ethnographic islets[46]. But in this, before it can be attempted, there must be an agreement on the basic affinities of the tribes in each band, Sanhajan or Ghumaran, and even among the Zanatans[47].

616 The liffs also seem to show, and manifestly, the reason for this progressive increase observed in the concentration of groups struggling in order to obtain the successive enlistment of possible far-away liff adherents.....so that their support would be required or attracted by the idea of burning of houses, etc., and their sudden disappearance, as if the earth might have swallowed them up, on the retreat of such far-flung allies....and thus creating the vacuum which one might label post-ta'rqiba[48] (author's italics), in order to astonish superficial observers, and coming to doubt the veracity of confidences and trusts, as well as of the enemy whom they had in front of them, and
616 728 of the sincerity of the peace testimony....And nevertheless, a submission must be accepted as effective for those who are about to make it, or for the next enemy group, seeing that it does not naturally endanger the lives of the warriors, who voluntarily defended the territorial integrity of their part of their liff. The ta'rqiba of this

616 728 group is not and cannot represent the surrender or submission of the chain which, immediately unfurled if a single link is lost, maintains and preserves all those who remain within it in the desirable state of resistance[49].

000 FOOTNOTES:

(114) 1--This should no doubt read, "by iziddjifen or imgharen".

2--We have not heard of any instance in which a tribal fine is divided
(682) up in this manner. Normally, when a man is fined for murder, for instance, the fine is split up into as many equal parts as there are clans in the tribe, after which each clan distributes its share of the fine among its component subclans, and so on down the line.

3--For an excellent and virtually contemporary account of what could happen at an agraw, see Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 97, and Coon, Flesh of the Wild Ox, New York: Morrow, 1932, pp. 77-83. Coon's account is taken from the Igzinnayen, who pronounce the word ayraw.

(628) 4--This is indeed an excellent example, but Blanco does not say why:
(114) because the other Rifian tribes through which Bushta al-Baghdadi's army passed did their own share of pillaging the Ibuqquyen as well--and this was particularly true of the lowlanders of the Aith Waryaghar.

5--The term harka did not exist in the Rif prior to 'Abd al-Krim, and under his aegis the notion it implied reached its fullest flowering, through military (i.e. "regular" Rifian Army, a total of some 2500 men under the command of 'Abd al-Krim's younger brother Si Mhammad n Si 'Abd l-Krim) and ordinary tribal levies sent out to fight, first, the Spaniards on two fronts (east and west) and then the French on one (south). These contingents, both regular and irregular, were organized into groups of twelve, twenty-five, fifty, one hundred and three hundred men (the last mentioned constituting a tabur), each one of which was under a qa'id designated by the number of men under his command--qa'id at-tn'ash (of 12), qa'id l-khamsa w 'ashrin (of 25), qa'id l-khamsin (of 50), qa'id l-Miya (of 100), and qa'id attabur (of a tabur, or 300).
(171) However, the idea of the harka had been there previously, even if the organizational refinements set up by 'Abd al-Krim, who modeled them on those of the Sultan's Army, were new.

6--In actual fact, those imgharen already holding office merely became war leaders as well.

(602) 7--This statement does not quite jibe with the notion of conscription, above; but the principle was exactly the same as that of a powerful chief who could count on armed support from numerous lineage-mates and/or fellow clansmen.

8--This comparison is couched by Blanco in the form of a recommendation for the use of native harkas in Spanish service.

(114) 9--This is certainly true of the Targist and the Thafarsith, but not of the Aith Wurishik, who are a fairly powerful tribe in their own right.

10--In the original, todo el mundillo rifeño, which is fully as descriptive, and a good deal less pompous, than "conceptual universe", for example.

• 616 619 642 114 11--Berber society always seems to be labeled "republican", "democratic", "anarchic", "oligarchic", etc. etc., and as I have remarked in several previous notes, Blanco is a prime offender in this regard. Even though

616 619 642 114 the Rifians borrowed a European word, republik, to describe the political organization of their country before 'Abd al'Krim's time, and even though they say that they employed this word because there was no central government, no makhzin, only imgharen or councilmembers acting in a state of "organized acephaly", we must not assume, for instance, that republik to a Rifian means what republic means to an American or republique to a Frenchman. Furthermore, though the American and French definitions of the term are no doubt closer to each other than either or both of them are to the Rifian, we cannot even assume that they are the same. And one of Blanco's most persistent defects in his analysis of social structure is a constant tendency to try to put square pegs into round holes.

616 619 182 601 829 [171] 12--Blanco's comparison of a jajgu to a branch of a tree (which, in fact, it actually means) and of dharfiqth to the trunk, e.g. a branch of a lineage with the lineage itself, is a comparison that Rifians themselves very frequently make. An anthropologist beginning work in the area, is always told by his informants, if he is perplexed by the intricacies of segmentary systems, to compare a tribe with a tree: trunk, major branches, minor branches growing out of these, still smaller branches, and, finally, leaves. The notion of "family trees" is just as firmly rooted in tribal Islam as in the Western World, perhaps more so.

000 13--What Blanco refers to in this very European expression is, among other things, attendance at the noon prayer on Fridays in the mosque.

[114] [171] 14--Where Montagne committed a grave error was in his assumption that Rifian alliances work exactly the same way as the checkerboard system which he found in the Western Atlas, and of which, oddly enough, the almost hypothetical Sanhaja-Ghumara liffs in Northern Morocco also seem to have been a good example. Blanco did not fall into quite the same error, but like Montagne, he takes the Sanhaja-Ghumara liffs at their face value, and accepts them entirely.

15--In the original, bando, which is not a bad description. The liffs of a given tribe are, in fact, hostile moieties, and regarding this conceptualization of them, and the notion of balance, equilibrium and oscillation between them, see Hart, op. cit., 1958, pp. 204-6, note 44.

[614] 16--The notion that there can be more than two liffs within a clan or within a tribe may not, in fact, be beyond the realm of possibility; but the point is academic, for the end result is, no matter how one arrives at it, always two liffs. For example, clans A and B are at war, while C, D and E remain neutral. C and D, however, are hostile to each other, so that if A should ask C's aid, D will automatically join B. After this, ideally, E will split in half, one half joining A's liff and the other, B's, in order to keep the balance and symmetry complete.

17--Almost always, in the shifting liffs within clans, each liff took the name of its most powerful man; and sometimes this happened on the tribal level as well, though it was less frequent.

616 621 602 114 18--The concept of linkage is basic to an understanding of the functioning of Rifian liffs, as Blanco indicates. He does not, however, go

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[62] sufficiently deeply into the problem to explain why this is so; although
[602] he does distinguish two kinds of liffs, he does not, in my estimation,
[114] make sufficiently clear why such a distinction exists. Let us look at the matter in a slightly different way.

[539] There are, indeed, two kinds of liffs, which Rifians themselves readily distinguish, and a Rifian proverb to this effect is as follows: "Kahalli nimsingha jiranagh ghar barra untimsa'dhi" ("Even if we fight among each other, we must be united against outsiders"). Thus, within 616 clans or subclans, there are "internal quarrels" (aminghi n dhikhr, 614 pl. iminghan n dhikhr), in which alliances often or sometimes even con- 619 tinuously shifted and changed over time; and within tribes, there were "external quarrels" (iminghan n barra), involving one clan or subclan against the next--and here alignments were almost invariably stable and predictable. Whenever the latter had to be activated, they were the same as they had been previously; and the feuding parties in an intra-clan war patched up their differences in order to turn their attention to attacking another clan. For this reason, permanence and impermanence of liffs tends to depend upon what levels of segmentation are under consideration, the latter applying more to lower levels and the former more to higher ones.

616 Besides the question of duration, there is another mechanism at work in the structure of liff alliances, and this has been defined by E. Gellner as "transitiveness" (see Hart, op. cit., 1958, p. 204, note 44). What is meant here is that if A and B are in liff, and B and C are, then A and C are also. This is indeed true for the Rif, but within well-circumscribed limits (the neighboring clans of immediately neighboring tribes) to be discussed below--for transitiveness does not continue ad infinitum.

616 The crux of the matter, among Rifians, is neatly revealed in their 614 terminology given above, in that "external" or "outside" or "big" 619 liffs operate on an intra-tribal level, while "internal" or "inside" or "smaller" liffs work within clans or subclans. The hall-mark of the Rifian liff system as that every single tribe in the area (and we know of no exceptions whatsoever) was permanently split down the middle, and its various clans and/or subclans, as a result, were aligned either in Faction A or Faction B; and thus the balance of power tended often but not always to be roughly symmetrical. Not only this, but it was generally expected that immediately bordering clans of neighboring tribes [124] would help one faction and hinder the other. Two informants, from the Igzinnayen, in fact, visualized the whole Rif, from their own tribe (in altitude, the highest in the Rifian-speaking universe) down to the Mediterranean, as a veritable network of such alliances! Small wonder, therefore, that Montagne, de la Chapelle, Justinard, Blanco and others who have published on the subject have found it so fascinating. Because of the internal split into two more or less equal parts in each individual tribe, and because of participation (if not in manpower, at least with money or rifles), of adjoining segments of neighboring tribes, the Rifian alliance system seems more complicated to me than the out-and-out chess- or checker-board-type liffs of the Western Atlas (if Montagne et al. are correct, as J. Berque, op. cit., 1955, pp. 424-39, has cast doubts on the Montagnian hypothesis); and we would liken it more to the links of a chain--as Blanco does, though perhaps he does so unwittingly through not having had all the facts at his disposal.

616 619 726 [614] [728] It must be remembered, however, that not every man in a tribe participated in that tribe's wars (though the participants were always remembered long after the non-participants were forgotten), and in some cases--although they were few--whole clans even remained neutral, though hardly aloof. It is, we suspect, to situations like these that Blanco refers when he states that it is possible to have more than two liffs in a given tribe, for the neutrals would generally be instrumental in arranging for a truce. In this sense, then, they could form, in effect, a third liff--those who opted out of war in any case, and who sometimes even buried the dead of the belligerents: the lineage of Ihawtshen, of foreign ancestry (from the Axt Tuzin), living in the clan territory of the Aith Turirth of Aith Waryaghar and greatly scorned by them, is a classic example; and there are others, as well.

[563] Warfare was demanded of the majority, but a minority could find safety through humility, as the few Jews living in the Rif were able and
000 expected to do.

[114] [729] 19--Quite true in theory, but in practice he might seek safety in humility, and bury the dead of the combatants, as the Ihautshen did in Aith Turirth.

[114] 20--This at best is dubious, but at the time he wrote these words, Blanco, like all his French counterparts, was entranced and virtually blinded by the liff theories of Montagne, who thought that liff systems were the be-all and end-all of Berber political sociology.

[682] 21--If a murderer, as was generally the case, was not able to pay the full amount of the rhaqq levied upon him by the imgharen, his agnates and, if necessary, his liff-mates were called in to help him out.

616 619 [162] 22--This is certainly true of the Thafarsith; and although the Aith 'Ammarth are a fair-sized tribe, 13246 strong (in 1960), it is bordered in the east and southeast by the two giants of the Rif, the Aith Waryaghar, 75695 in 1960, and the Igzinnayen, 41653 in 1960. The Aith 'Ammarth feuded bitterly among themselves, also (so ferociously, it is said, that each liff had its own market and its own qa'id); and the

[614] principles outlined in note 18 apply here very neatly. One of their liffs, consisting of the clans of Aith 'Abbu and Ija'umen, was aided by the neighboring Igzinnayen clan of Asht 'Asim, as well as by another neighboring clan of another tribe, the Aith Hadhifa of the Aith Waryaghar; while the second moiety, consisting of the clans of the Aith S'aid Ikhrif and Aith r-Hasayin, was abetted by another neighbor, the non-Rifian (in this case, "Jbalan") tribe of the Marnisa. Although even the giants of the Aith Waryaghar and the Igzinnayen both respected the fighting ability of the Aith 'Ammarth, the latter were and are too small to try to get away with anything. These neighbors, therefore, they left severely alone, although they regularly trounced their smaller Sanhaja Srir neighbors of the Aith Bshir and Zarqat.

000 23--Blanco's two different classes of liffs, individual and general, are, in effect, my impermanent, shifting and intra-clan type and my permanent, intermittently reactivated and intra-tribal type, as described in note 18.

24--This is a well-taken point, if a somewhat obvious one. Women, in theory, do not fight, but in more than one instance they have been able to strike blows for the men of their liff. A woman's allegiance, in the

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last analysis, is with her husband, although the relationship between idhuran (sing. adhuggwar) or in-laws is always conceptualized in terms of mutual help, friendship and obligation, in short, of alliance.

25--What is presumably meant here is that one is never sure if one's allies of yesterday will be one's enemies of tomorrow.

26--Blanco recognizes the shifting character of liffs on lower levels of segmentation and the relative permanence of those on higher levels, and it is certainly true that in one sense the permanent liffs act as checks and balances on those of the lower levels. However, what Blanco does not say is that this cuts both ways; and in a critique of Montagne's ideas on the subject, Andre Adam (La Maison et le Village dans Quelques Tribus de l'Anti-Atlas, Collection Hesperis, XIII, Paris: Larose, 1951, p. 41) raises the question of whether liffs cause war or prevent it, saying in effect that if their function was to prevent it, they hardly succeeded!

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27--This point, again, is well taken. Liffs, in theory, do not exist today, and even though the liff structure is largely erased from the minds of Rifians of the younger generation, it could probably be reactivated without difficulty if the need arose, although such reactivation would doubtless take different and more modern forms. Hatreds in the Rif today are latent; but every Rifian is perfectly aware who his friends and who his enemies are, both within his own tribe and outside it.

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28--The European concept of "republic", rather than the Rifian Republik, probably is the context which Blanco intended in this case, even though the latter makes far better sense!

29--It is not so much a difference as a shift in emphasis, as the Rifian proverb quoted in note 18 makes so abundantly clear.

30--If this statement is at the same time supposed to give any idea of the primary divisions or maximal segmentation of the Aith Waryghar into five khmas, it is highly misleading. From certain of his previous assertions, it seems that Blanco does indeed recognize the difference between a segmentary system and a liff system, but he does not bother to make this difference explicit anywhere. In addition, he faithfully lists the member clans and subclans of Moiety A, but merely refers to Moiety B as "the rest". To clarify the matter further, it should be said that the Aith Waryaghar are segmented into five "fifths", or khams khmas (sing. dhakhammasth; the notion of "five fifths" in addition indicates that a tribe is strong), as follows: I) Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari; II) Aith 'Abd Allah; III) Aith Hadhifa; IV) Aith Bu 'Ayyash, containing the subclans of Aith Bu 'Ayyash "Proper" (as it were) and Aith 'Adhiya (as we shall see Aith Bu 'Ayyash Proper was in the numerically superior liff, as was Aith Yusif w 'Ari, while Aith 'Adhiya and Aith 'Ari were in the smaller liff--thus the first two clans or subclans might be considered onomastically "dominant" and the second two onomastically "recessive", to borrow a term from Mendelian genetics); and V) Imrabdhen. To set the record completely straight regarding references in previous notes, and to attempt to tie up loose ends, the mountain, or Jbil, (sub)clans of Aith Turirth, Timarzga and

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616 614 [619] Aith 'Arus, though spatially separated from them, are nonetheless clan "brothers" of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, Aith 'Ari and Aith Hadhifa respectively; and each of the former groups gets its share of the tribal rhaqq from each of the latter, though this, at the moment, is beside the point. What is more important, however, is that each of the mountain clans is allied in liff to its "brethren" further down the slope.

In the Aith Waryaghar, the two liff heads depend largely on the clan to which one's informants belong. If they are from the Aith 'Adhiya, the liff heads are Aith 'Adhiya and Aith Bu 'Ayyash "Proper" (which segments, being both member subclans of a single clan, are more "brothers" to each other than they are to any of the other clans); if from the Aith 'Abd Allah, they are Aith 'Abd Allah and Aith Hadhifa; and if from Aith 'Ari, they are Aith 'Ari and Aith Yusif w 'Ari (who, again, as subclans of a single clan or clans combining to make up a single "fifth", are more "brothers" to each other than either or both of them are to any or all of the other clans; in this particular instance, in fact they are supposed to be descended from two actual brothers, 'Ari w 'Ari and Yusif w 'Ari). No matter; the structure of the liffs in Aith Waryaghar is as follows:
Faction A (within Aith Waryaghar): Aith 'Ari (with Timarzga), Aith 'Abd Allah, and Aith 'Adhiya (of Aith Bu 'Ayyash). Faction B (within Aith Waryaghar): Aith Yusif w 'Ari (with Aith Turirth), Aith Hadhifa (with Aith 'Arus), Aith Bu 'Ayyash "Proper" (of Aith Bu 'Ayyash), and Imrabdhen. Faction A (external to Aith Waryaghar): includes clans of Truguth, in the tribe of Thimsaman, and Axt 'Akki, in the tribe of the Axt Tuzin. Faction B (external to Aith Waryaghar): includes the clan of Ija'unen, in the tribe of the Aith 'Ammarth, affiliated through liff with Aith Hadhifa.

From the foregoing, four facts are readily apparent: 1) Faction B, internally, is, in both number of clans and total number of individuals involved, considerably stronger than Faction A is, internally. This shows that 2) the liff alignment among the Aith Waryaghar, rather than 616 corresponding to the khums structure, tends to cut across it, for within 619 two of the khmas listed, subclans are pitted against each other in the total tribal moiety system, even though the other three khmas remain intact. It also implies that 3), as discussed below, the liff system of the Aith Waryaghar is in fact far more a function of their territorial system than it is of their system of segmentation. Moreover, as we have noted in an earlier publication (Hart, op. cit., 1958, p. 204-6, note 44), 4) the exact form that each liff in a given tribe will take depends largely upon whether the number of top-level segments in that tribe is even or odd. As most Rifian tribes have an odd number of top segments (only Bni Bu Frah, Aith 'Ammarth and Thafarsith have even numbers--four, four and two, respectively), usually five and never more than five, (i.e. Aith Waryaghar, Igzinnayen, Thimsaman, Axt Tuzin, Aith S'aid, Aith Wurishik, etc.), a certain amount of improvisation and splitting within clans has to take place. (Among tribes containing an even number of segments, there is no need for this.)

It may well be asked, at this juncture, what the explanation is for the numerical superiority of Faction B. There is, we think, a very good one, but in order to show how it works, we must first consider yet

616 619 [124] another (and/or alternative) division of the Aith Waryaghar into two top-level segments. This division is above and beyond that of the khmas, and it was dictated to the writer by the late Qa'id Haddu n Muh Amzzyan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, a man whose knowledge of his own tribe was considered by his fellows to be unrivalled. In this division, Top Segment I is labeled Aith Khattab, and consists of Aith Yusif w 'Ari (plus Aith 'Ari) and Aith 'Abd Allah, while Top Segment II consists of Aith Bu 'Ayyash (with Aith 'Adhiya) and Aith Hadhifa. If the subsegments of these top segments are aligned into their component liffs, as above, the balance of power is completely even. The primary key to the problem, therefore, is the khums of Imrabdhen, the presence of which, in the Aith Waryaghar, tips the scale in favor of Faction B (above). The Imrabdhen, as their name indicates, are the major intrusive element in the tribe, a holy clan in a lay tribal unit, so to speak. Tradition has it that the ancestor of a major Imrabdhen lineage branch, Sidi Mhand u-Musa, married a daughter of one of the top imgharen of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari; and thus the alliance between them. It was highly beneficial to both parties because the Imrabdhen received the protection of the laymen of Faction B, so to speak, while the latter derived prestige from having holy men in residence. In time, with the proliferation of the Imrabdhen, the latter came to acquire the status of a khums, and their subsegments spread out over much of the length and breadth of the tribal territory, forming islets, as it were, in the land of the remaining clans, so that today, although they are regarded as a single top segment, their own subsegments are territorially discontinuous, just as Aith Turirth, Timarzga and Aith 'Arus are in relation to their "brothers" of Aith Yusif w 'Ari, Aith 'Ari and Aith Hadhifa, respectively.

616 619 614 792 [613]

[613] In time, also, the majority of the Imrabdhen came to fight among themselves, and only a very few (such as the lineage of the Iziqqiwen of Aith Hishim, the direct descendants of Sidi Mhand u Musa, himself in turn a direct descendant of the clan's apical ancestor, Sidi Ibrahim al-A'raj, and the lineage of the Dharwa n Sidi r-Hajj Mis'aud in Aith Turirth) retained the traditional occupations and prerogatives of holy men: the wearing of white robes, the adjudication of disputes, and the dispensing of baraka (which, it might be added, could only be inherited by one son of any given holy man at a time). In the overall, permanent liff alignment within the Aith Waryaghar, however, they did not waver in their allegiance to the Aith Yusif w 'Ari. We are thus faced with the paradox that although functionally they helped, as holy men, to restore or maintain equilibrium within the tribe, they created at the same time a structural disequilibrium by virtue of being, literally, "fifth wheels"--for such a relationship as exists between the segmentary and liff systems of the Aith Waryaghar is tenuous and non-integrative, as, in effect, it adds two and two together and makes five. (It is also possible to draw a similar analogy, in terms of balance and imbalance, between holy and adjudicating imrabdhen, the 10% minority, and lay and warrior imrabdhen, the 90% majority, although this is essentially another matter. So, in fact, is the problem of the "legitimacy" of the Imrabdhen as a clan: whether they are shurfa or not--and here again, one runs into ambiguities. They themselves say "yes", while others say "no". In general, their genealogies seem to indicate that they are genuine shurfa, although it is possible that these are, at least in part, cleverly faked. Perhaps a test question here is whether or not they have a right to share in the annual proceeds of the sunduq or box

616 619 614 792 182 792

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614 of Mulay Idris in Fez; and over this, they hedge, saying that they do
792 have this right, but that they have never yet exercised it because "Fez is so far away". This is, in effect, a tacit admission of proper imrabdhen and non-shurfa status.)

In having postulated a state of equilibrium between the two
• 616 moieties of the Aith Waryaghar prior to the arrival of the Imrabdhen,
614 and in having postulated that the latter came in time to upset this equilibrium in structural terms, we have up to now left Faction A in a kind of structural limbo. How, one may well ask, did this faction regain its balance? Through the principle of transitiveness within limits, as defined in note 18, by enlisting the aid of one neighboring clan from each of two tribes, Thimsaman and Axt Tuzin. After Faction A made this move, one may assume, Faction B did the same thing with a neighboring clan of Aith 'Ammarth. And here, we feel, is the secondary key to the problem, for, in effect, the inequality of liff alignments of a permanent type within the tribal territory of the Aith Waryaghar is cancelled out or, perhaps, rectified through the mechanism of transitiveness without; and balance is thus restored. And the interplay of the factors of permanence, transitiveness and the chain-link theory (by which, if Faction A gets the Thimsaman and Axt Tuzin, Faction B gets the Aith 'Ammarth) is evident throughout.

000 31-Bu Hmara, as his title r-Rogi indicates, was a false pretender to the Moroccan throne in the first decade of the 20th century. For full details, see Eduardo Maldonado, El Rogui, Tetuan: Instituto General Franco, n.d. (ca. 1952).

[648] 32--Jilali Mul al-Wudhu was a negro general of Bu Hmaran and his top man in the Eastern Rif when he set up headquarters in the qasba or fortress of Silwan in 1907, prior to trying to rally the Rifians to his cause. All of the tribes, in fact, did so rally, save Aith Waryaghar and Aith 'Ammarth, who thought it very "shameful" that a black "slave" ('abid) should invade their territory; and so, on September 7, 1908, on the banks of the Nkur River, near Imzuren, they cut him and his army to pieces, after which the other tribes turned against him one by one and ambushed his rearguard.

33--Busta al-Baghdad's expedition took place in 1898. It should also be noted that any previous liff arrangement which may have existed between Aith 'Abd Allah and Ibuqquyen was purely and strictly ad hoc.

34--True; but the normal situation was as described in note 25. Only outside invasion could and did ever weld a whole tribe together; and the Aith Waryaghar were united for the very first (recorded) time in their history when Bu Hmara came to the Rif.

35--See note 18. The fact that Rifian liffs were transitive, but only up to and including neighboring clans of the next tribe, tended normally to isolate feuds and to keep them in bounds, to some extent, at least.

616 36--We have commented on the almost mythical Ghumara-Sanhaja war above.
619 The liff system at work in this particular case was at variance with
648 the traditional Rifian system, as described in note 18; although on the other hand, if we can accept the myth (which is doubtful), it points

A,[See p.257, #14--Analyst]

616 619 648 [114] [113] to a far earlier incidence of tribal unity, and on a much wider scale, than the events precipitated by Bu Hamara's invasion. Blanco's listing, however, is incomplete, for this feud encompassed not only the Rif, but all of Northern Morocco, centering, supposedly, on the Ghumara and Sanhaja, each of which had allies both to the west (Jbala) and to the east (Rif). There are other listings available, the most complete of which may be found in Montagne, op. cit., 1930, map facing p. 208. See also Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 17-8, and Jesus Ortoneda Jiménez, Estudio de la Region del Rif, Ceuta, 1930, p. 37, as well as Vademecum de Intervenciones Militares, Melilla 1928. None of these listings is in complete agreement with any of the others.

000 37--According to Coon, op. cit., 1931, p. 18, the Igzinnayen were not in the Ghumara liff, but in the Sanhajan one, and, according to his informants, the fact that the Aith Waryaghar and the Igzinnayen were both on that side brought the Sanhaja the ultimate victory.

38--Until 1906, Bni Gmil and Mistasa formed a single tribe. See Andrés Sánchez Pérez, Vademecum del Territorio del Rif, 1946, p. 81.

39--Bni Waryagil is a small tribe in the southern Jbala, and Rifian informants have all disclaimed any connection between it and the very much larger Aith Waryaghar of the Rif. Literate informants, moreover, point to the difference in orthography: the name of the Rifian tribe is written in Arabic with the letter ghain, while that of the Jbalan group is written with the gaf (kaf with three points above it).

40--It does indeed!

[114] 41--Why should it be necessary to "explain its affinities to the European type"? One feels that liffs, like any other institutions, can only be "explained" in their own terms!

[696] 42--What Blanco presumably refers to here, in an oblique manner, is, among other things, the fact that murderers must flee their own tribes.

[114] 43--It seems to us that Blanco is looking at this aspect of the problem upside down. If anything, an alliance and war of the Sanhaja-Ghumara type probably had its origins in the Rifian system discussed in note 18, rather than the other way around. It is, of course, also possible that problems and/or notions of this kind cut both ways.

44--This term refers to the western maritime tribes of the Rif, located around the early Islamic center of Badis.

616 619 114 45--There are three basic errors in this sentence. First, the Aith 'Abd Allah had only an ad hoc liff arrangement with the Ibuqquyen; this was directed against their own enemies within the Aith Waryaghar, namely, the Aith Yusif w 'Ari and the Aith Hadhifa, the former of whom, in particular, the Ibuqquyen could never forgive for having accompanied Bushta al-Baghdadi's punitive expedition into their tribal territory. There was no question whatsoever of an alliance with either the Aith Yittuft or the Bni Bu Frah. The same applies to the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, who were also (but very tenuously) allied, through the transitive principle, to the Axt Tuzin clan of Axt Tsafth, because their "brothers" and enemies the Aith 'Adhiya were in liff (again through the transitive principle)

616 619 114 with the Axt 'Akki of the Axt Tuzin and with the Truguth of the Thimsaman. Secondly, the Aith Waryaghar are not Sanhajan, and because tradition may have associated them with the liff of the Sanhajans long ago, this has nothing to do with their origins--which are Rifian. Thirdly, and worst of all, Blanco writes unwarranted nonsense through voicing the notion, entirely of his own making, of "communicating Ghumaran or Sanhajan passageways", in a cross-tribal sense.

000 46--By "ethnographic islets", Blanco probably refers to tribes such as Targist, Aith Mazduyi and Bni Gmil, which are neither properly Rifian nor properly Sanhajan.

[114] 47--As today the validity of the whole Masmuda-Ghumara-Sanhaja-Zanaga-Zanata classification of Berbers, on a linguistic, racial and cultural basis, has been thrown open to question and doubt, Blanco's postulation, at best, seems very far-fetched. (The objectives of one generation are not often those of the next!)

616 728 184 782 48--Ta'rqiba: the sacrifice of an animal, after a war, by the side which is willing to surrender first. In many parts of Morocco, it involves cutting off the feet of the animal in question after slitting its throat and before it dies; but in the Rif, this particular modality is not practiced. There, any and all overtures to peace after a feud or war are not designated as ta'rqiba, but as ssulh, while the term referring to the act of sacrifice itself is dhaqqarsth.

000 [175] 49--Blanco's so-called "post-ta'rqiba" vacuum seems to me in reality to be the spatial norm in Rifian liff distribution; for prior to 'Abd al-Krim's time, and the creation, born of necessity, in 1921 of Eastern and Western (Spanish), and later, in 1925, of Southern (French) fronts, Rifian tribesmen always fought in their own home territory--with the possible exception, in one instance, of the Aith 'Ammarth contingents who helped the Aith Waryaghar against Bu Hmara's negro general on the banks of the Nkur River in 1908.

628 a guarantee of peace which, little by little, by virtue of their
613 acceptance by new and neighboring dharfiqin, came to be converted into
728 a general agreement between clans, thus increasing the radius of
614 peace; or they even inspired them to adhere once more to an interrupted truce.

628 "There is no law", the imgharen announced through the mouth of
616 the market crier, and the poor tribesmen, loading their faithful and
[195] inseparable companions, their rifles, were pressured into forming the
[203] ranks of a liff, and into working out guarantees or neighboring alliances, such as that which we shall examine, which, for greater efficacy, publicity and solemnity, they proclaimed in front of their notables in the suq (parliament--sic), rendering them necessary and valid for fulfillment (Blanco: note 2, in text).

671 These agreements had no other legal connotation than the very
628 short one of holding off the next spark of vengeance, being disrupted
728 or broken, due to the good will of trying to serve (Blanco: note 14) for repression and as an example of punishment, their efficacy being that of lengthening the brief periods of peace.

829 This is a rational mechanism. Everybody understood that war
721 would exterminate him; everybody desired to be at peace. But in their
[182] independent-minded democracy, they did not hit the mark with an organ of enforcement capable of imposing it, if anyone tried to disturb it.

671 Tired of tragic bloodfeuding, they drew up a truce and, logi-
628 cally, nominated the most powerful (man) to guarantee it and watch
728 over it.

R S 671 648

alliance between the people of two distinct tribes, the Bni Bu Frah and the Bni Gmil, or, more specifically the clans of Agni and Ulah S'aid in the first tribe and their neighbor Bni Gmil[98], situated in the hollow of the upper basin of the Wad Bu Frah.

R 3 648

This alliance has as its objective more than just the defense of the border, as it points out, for it guarantees the lives and property of its constituents along the tribal frontiers, as these, in the Rif, do not have the stability which they do, for example, among European states, because purchasing of land, principally, renders them extremely mobile.[99]

R 616

These alliances (lfuf) have a significance and a mechanism among Rifians which we have already attempted to assess in the first part of this conference.

The liff, the origins of which are confusing and the development of which is complicated, is difficult for a European to understand; but nevertheless, it attracted us greatly as the center-piece in the life of the Rifian mountains.[100]

The way I view it, the liff is not a social institution, nor does it fit into the family institutions already considered with reference to the kin group; and this is because it binds together different social units, as in this instance, rather than individuals of different families.[101] The liff is more of a political institution and it represents in Rifian political life a complementary force of higher and intermittent action. Perhaps it may have been the real regulator (author's italics) of Rifian life, not coming into play until other forces became rarified or became disturbed. For this reason, to my way of thinking, it is so important.

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

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613 While relationships with one's own and neighboring lineages, regulated by tradition, were maintained, the liff did not plead permanence as a hope of reward, but whenever injustice or violence, ripping up their pact or norms of coexistence, left an individual or his lineage-mates helpless, these latter attained in the liff a final support for their rights and in all cases a secure material refuge for their persons and possessions.

616
999 The liff must not be compared to European political parties (author's italics), for these are activated under a religious aegis or under a governmental form, both things being ones which did not enter into the preoccupations of the Rifians, for whom republics and Islam were points which did not admit controversy even in the slightest degree. Destined to a rude struggle for existence in a harsh and miserable environment, the speculations of the spirit had neither place nor occasion to make themselves felt in the fact of the other, primordial and undeferable.

616
182 To any presumed victims the liff was the best guarantee and forewarning, as through it individuals and social units were forced to bring about the alliances (author's italics) which they deemed necessary in order to oppose adverse forces; and thus they insured their own existence.

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619
182 The mechanism of the liff worked the miracle, in the anarchical (sic) state of Rifian society, of permitting the coexistence of the family or kin group or social unit (i.e. the lineage, on whatever level), as small as it might be, among others more numerous in point of population with no diminution of its integrity; and this fact permitted the

616
613 survival, up into our own time, of insignificant tribes, true Rifian
619 Switzerlands, authentic islets, like Thafarsith, which were sur-
182 rounded by powerful neighbors.

616 Thanks to such a mechanism, the individual within the family,
182 the family within the jma'th, the jma'th within the clan, the clan within the tribe, and the tribe within the area or region all attained an unstable equilibrium, but an equilibrium, nevertheless, from start to finish, the most curious facet of which was expressed in the linkage of clans and in the two great rival bands of the Ghmara and the Sinhaja.

616 I am unable to determine whether the liff was the cause or
121 the result of the fractionization which Rifian anarchy brought about, populating the mountains with a real mosaic of small autonomous states which were grouped into two rival bands and equilibrated thanks to the linkage of the liff system.[102] Many reasons could be given for one or the other theory.

616 It is certain that the liff, in the Rifian ethos, is a mysterious and powerful force, to which the tribesmen submitted body and soul, if one might say so without necessarily admitting a comparison of European methods of alliance.[103]

671 This qanun offers further proof in support of the fact that the
614 clan in the Rifian mountains was an autonomous state within the tribe.
619 Thus, as in this case, we see it brought together with the neighboring
644 clans of another tribe (Bni Gmil), regarding the subject of war on the
648 border, while its members either forget or eschew union with another clan of their own tribe (Swahil of Bni Bu Frah)[104]; according to European modes of thought, such an action would induce a lack of esteem

000 44--Which is unwritten in any case.

45--The Aith 'Abdallah are at once a clan and a "fifth" of the Aith Waryaghar.

46--In Rifian, Dhara n Tihrariyin, "the spring of the pure women(?)". The Tuesday Market once located there has not been functioning since the establishment of the Spanish protectorate, or earlier. The people of Aith 'Abdallah at present share a market, held on Mondays, with those of Aith Hadhifa; this market is located on the border of the two clan territories.

[614] 47--Sidi 'Amran is buried in the jma'th of Aith S'aid, in the subclan territory of Aith 'Aru Musa, one of two subclans of Aith 'Abdallah (the other being Aith Tmajurth).

[114] 48--Presumably with eleven of his agnates as cojurors, for twelve must swear in cases of suspected homicide; but there is no mention of this in the text and Blanco, whose knowledge of collective oaths in the Rif was sketchy, does not comment upon it.

[114] 49--Blanco's notions of Rifian segmentary lineage organization are somewhat deficient; for although the notion of a confederation of tribes might once have existed in the Rif (vide the liffs of Ghumara and Sinhaja), but during the "Republik" as described both by Blanco and myself, it most emphatically did not exist, nor does it exist today.

50--"Autonomous" would perhaps be a better word in this connection, for any segmentary system presupposes an interdependence of its component segments, upward, downward and laterally; and within the framework of such a system, maintained as it is by the principles of balance, oscillation and opposition, there is always some (and often very considerable) latitude for a (virtually or largely) autonomous existence on the part of individual segments, irrespective of the segmental level under consideration.

51--Because the Aith Waryaghar, in point of population, are the biggest tribe by far in the entire Rif (with the Igzinnayen following, at some distance), its clans may be functionally equated, in certain respects but not in others, with whole tribes elsewhere.

671 614 52--The Aith 'Adhiya are one of two subclans of the clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash (the other being "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash), of the tribe of Aith Waryaghar. We have referred to it as Bani 'Adhiya rather than Aith 'Adhiya in the text itself, as this is how it appears in Arabic.

614 162 Although the Aith 'Adhiya are strictly speaking a subclan rather than a clan proper, as the Aith 'Abdallah are (see Chap. VI), they are nonetheless about the same size as the latter in point of population; and the whole clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, with both subclans considered, is the biggest in the tribe, and by a rather wide margin (population 22,000 in 1960). This fact helps explain two things: 1) why the Aith 'Adhiya and the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash are in opposite liffs, and 2) why the qanun of the subclan of the Aith 'Adhiya deals with almost exactly the same matters as that of the clan of the Aith 'Abdallah. Aith 'Adhiya and Aith Bu 'Ayyash form one "fifth".

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7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

611 Descent is patrilineal, and the number of paternal relatives a Moroccan can remember is always greater than the number on the mother's side.[4]

565 184 The important details of social stratification show little variation within the northern zone. Real or alleged descendants of the Prophet constitute the highest class. Among tribesmen, the most respected and important class is composed of gentlemen farmers. At the bottom of the scale are blacksmiths, market weighers and criers, musicians and dancers, and tinkers or other itinerant artisans. The Jews, regardless of their profession, are lowest in the scale.

621 184 Besides these aspects of religion and social organization, there are many features of settlement and livelihood that show little variation within the northern zone. The basic unit of settlement is the hamlet or farmstead. Settlements of more than a few hundred inhabitants are rare. For every farmer who grows cash crops there are at least a hundred others who are concerned only with their own or community needs. In all Morocco, subsistence farming and barter govern rural economy, and trading takes place at weekly markets held in the open air.

241 433 [437] [443] One of the clearest expressions of cultural diversity is the division of northern Morocco into zones of Arabic and Berber speech, a division which coincides with other cultural frontiers. Generally speaking, the eastern half of the area (Rif, Garet, Gal'aya) retains Berber speech, whereas the western half (Jbala, Ghmara) has been Arabized. The historical and cultural factors that have brought about this division will be considered in chapter iii.

175 631 648 A state, by minimum definition, is an extent of inhabited territory presided over by a government capable of asserting its authority. During most of its history, Morocco was hardly a state in this sense of the word. One of the important themes of Moroccan history is the division of the country into lands of government (*bilad al-makhzen*) and lands of dissidence (*bilad as-siba*). The belligerence of the free tribes was based not only on their hatred of taxes[5] and authoritarian order but also on their inability to conceive of any social or political unit larger than the tribe or confederation of tribes. Most of the Rif was part of the land of dissidence.[6] Jbala and Ghmara formed an intermediate zone, neither submissive nor openly rebellious in the face of domination from without. The plains of Wad Lukkus and the Gharb were easier to subdue.

619 628 [648] [591] [616] [712] Dissidence was expressed in intertribal and intratribal conflict as well as in opposition to the central government. In most of the Rif, and especially in Aith Wariyaghar, quarrels over ownership of land, water rights, and personal affronts led to blood feuds of extraordinary savagery. Some feuds did not end until one of the participating families was exterminated. Feuding and the necessity for defense gave rise to a complex system of alliances based in part upon moieties. In the days before the Spanish occupation, each house in Aith Wariyaghar had

[4] In popular writings Berber society is sometimes described as being influenced by matriarchy. This assumption is based upon the fact that Berber women are much more active and unabashed than the Arabized women of the towns; it is based also upon the tradition that the Garmantians were led by a queen or prophetess. E.-F. Gautier, "The Monument of Tin Hanan in the Ahaggar," *Geog. Rev.*, 24 (1934), 439–443. [113]

[5] *Makhzen* comes from the verb *khazana*, "to lock up" or "to hoard." The word is synonymous with "government" and more especially with the treasury department. E. Michaux-Bellaire, "Makhzen," *Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1913–1938). [113]

[6] Nevill Barbour, ed., *A Survey of North West Africa (the Maghrib)* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 380–381. [113]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

631 634 343 191 assembly was an economic unit. In the Shluh area of southwestern Morocco most of the independent communities have still or had formerly a collective storehouse, or *agadir* (Berber *tighremt*), administered according to minutely established rules."

Under normal conditions the social hierarchy did not extend beyond the family and the assembly. Larger groups assumed importance only in periods of crisis, as when there was a revolt against the sultan or need of defense against an enemy. 619 [634] [614] The next order, which is still of minor importance, is the tribe, traditionally formed of the members of three to ten assemblies. The members of a tribe also claim descent from a common ancestor. The genealogical connotation is apparent in tribal names, which are usually prefixed by *bani* or *aith*, Arabic and Berber, respectively, for "sons of" and "people of." Each tribe has at least one weekly market and a sanctuary—the tomb of the patron of the tribe—which is the focus of an annual pilgrimage. But the manifestations of tribal unity were and are largely ceremonial, and in the past tribal chiefs were elected only in time of war. Moreover, the tribal unit 619 616 was divided and weakened by an elaborate system of moieties (*leff*). All the communities making up a tribe were thus paired, and every family or clan had the right to call upon its *leff* brothers in an emergency. At various times in Moroccan 631 619 history, tribes have been grouped to form confederations, but large organizations of this sort had neither a permanent chief nor an assembly. With the exception of the Rifians, most Moroccans have lost interest in the confederations. "On the whole," as Henri Terrasse remarks, "Morocco has been a conglomeration of little Berber republics keen to maintain their autonomy and, in case of need, to defend vigorously or reconquer in pitiless revolts their independence and their customs."[34]

197 Wherever Arabic has replaced Berber speech, there also Qur'anic law has replaced the old tribal order. In such areas one can no longer speak of "Berbers," but neither can one speak of "Arabs," in the sense of Arabians or Levantines. The cultural dichotomy now evident in northern Africa is the result of a long process of assimilation. The forces which have brought about Arabization are analogous to those which produced the Hispanization of Latin America. This analogy is reasonable, for the number of Arabians in the Atlas is probably no larger than the number of Spaniards in the Andes.

Punic and Roman Influence

195 The historic period did not begin at the same time for the whole of Barbary. Along the coast it began with the arrival of the Phoenicians, late in the second or early in the first millennium B.C. It is probable that the Barbary coast was visited by Minoans and Egyptians also, but there is no evidence that they founded colonies. The regions occupied by the Phoenicians became part of the civilized Mediterranean world. Carthage, near the modern city of Tunis, was founded in 814 B.C. by settlers from Tyre. Utica, thirty kilometers to the northwest, and Gades (Cádiz) date from 1101 B.C. Other settlements, a day's voyage apart, were founded on the Algerian coast. On the Rifian coast it appears that colonies were

[113] [33] For detailed accounts of the Moroccan granaries, see Dj. Jacques-Meunié, *Greniers-citadelles au Maroc* (Paris: Larose, 1951); and Robert Montagne, *Un Magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas: l'Agadir des Ikounka* (Paris: Larose, 1930).

[34] Henri Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc* (Casablanca: Editions Atlantides, 1949), I, 33.

2: Montagne--274 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11
Rif MX3

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/205 cont./ produced, more noticeable in the plains than in the mountains, in such a way that the leff of the "Aoggwa" would in our day be penetrated more by Arab influences.

Later the progressive settlement of the tribes on their territory, the natural mixing of the small social groups, and the indefinite repetition of the quarrels of the tribal fractions must have led to the breaking up of the large leffs in the east of the Anti-Atlas, at the junction point with the territory of the Aït Waouzgit; the same phenomenon would have been produced toward the Atlantic plains and at the edge of the desert. Thus little by little there would be constituted the political chessboard of the Far South, whose irregular aspect is still far from presenting the balanced state of division of the leffs of the Masmouda more ancient, fragmented into equal parts, the parts of which are constituted by cantons.

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XIII. The leffs of the Jbala and of the Rif. -- The institution of the leffs /206/ assumes, among the sedentary peoples of the north of Morocco, an aspect that differs both from that of the Masmouda and from the tribes of the Anti-Atlas.

From the Atlantic versant of the chain of the North and as far as the mouth of the Moulouya, which forms the eastern boundary of the Rif, people designate, by the name of "Senhaja" and of "Ghomara," at the same time two large confederations and alliances of tribes comparable to the ones of the south of Morocco (1).

1. Cf. on the Ghomara and Senhaja: M. Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes /Some Mountain Tribes/," pp. 4-8; E. Lévi-Provençal, "Une liste de surnoms populaires des tribus Djebalah /A List of Popular Surnames of the Jebala Tribes/" (Archives berbères, 1918). -- Our friend M. G.-S. Colin has kindly consented to communicate to us an unpublished study that he

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/footnote 1 continued/ carried out on the ancient boundaries of the territory of the Ghomara and the Senhaja. The precise identification that he has made of a large number of points or of tribes mentioned by El Bekri /al-Bakri/ and Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ permits finding again the ancient boundaries of the territory of the Ghomara and measuring the importance of their enemies' progress in the course of the centuries. We have used his valuable information in the pages that follow and have given, according to his research, the outline of the ancient peopling of the Moroccan North in the map of the Senhaja and Ghomara tribes appended to this study.

In the region of the Habt, and in a more general way among all the tribes of the western Jbel, "Senhaja" and "Ghomara" are "'alam," "flags," behind which are ranged the small independent political units of the Moroccan North in order to confront one another. As in the Anti-Atlas, entire tribes enter into each of the leagues; it is rare that two small states belonging to the same "'alam" come to blows, whereas war is almost always breaking out between "Senhaja" and "Ghomara." As in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ also, neighbors side with their brothers, and the fight spreads over vast regions following a local conflict. The

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leffs are very stable, as is proved by the existence of a curious classification attributed to a personage unknown elsewhere, called "Bou Tyour," the "bird man." In the list of "Bou Tyour," each tribe is designated by an animal -- bird, mammal, or insect -- or even by an object, and some simple rules should permit one, it is said, to find the leff of origin by remembering the surname. Sometimes the names of animals whose consumption is licit are applied to the "Ghomara," while those that are forbidden by religious law are "Senhaja"; or else "everything that

/206 cont./

•616 619 171 can be eaten" would be "Ghomara," with the exception of fish (Jaïa) or crabs (Beni Ahmed), the "Ghomara" having been "eaten," according to tradition, and conquered by the Senhaja foreigners, veiled with the litham /veil/ and coming from Lamtouna (2);

2. Lévi-Provençal, loc. cit.

yet again, the "Ghomara" would be /207/ designated by birds (1),

1. The Ghomara have for an emblem, in the list of Bou Tyour, a small bird that is called "aqouj." Perhaps it is possible to compare these bird surnames, of totemic appearance, with the ancient custom that the Ghomara would have had of picturing God in the aspects of a bird (From the qasida /kasida/ of Ibn ʿArdoun). This information has been given to us by M. G.-S. Colin.

the "Senhaja" by other animals (2).

2. There is also the custom of designating tribes by the name of an animal or object in the South of Morocco, but these sobriquets have nothing to do with the classification of the leffs. We have thus turned up the following surnames in the central Anti-Atlas: Aït Tisgi : Id bi Igherdaïn (the rats); Aït Wagrou : Iougra (the frogs); Ida Ou Martiyn : Tikida (the carob tree); Ida Ou Ennis : Id bou leqchour (pomegranate rind); Ida Ou Kensous : Id Bouilamen (the sound /Fr. le son, "the sound" or "the bran"/); Ind Ou Nadif : Id Warseba (the bearers of bad luck); Aït Tagmout : Id bou Maghous (the bitterness); Aït Ousa : Id

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/footnote 2 continued/ Biqousasen (the green figs); Aït Oughgoummi : Ibougha (the foxes); Aït Tikiwit : Anziden (the argan-tree rats); Aït Tiyout : Id bou Ifedam (the palm fiber); Irasen : Ifkharen (the potters); Aït Tmighat : Tighitten (the goats); Aït Mrait : Tatten (the ewes), etc. ... These appellations are most often considered insulting.

000 Among the Jbala /Jebala/ of the center, in the region of the Beni Zerwal and the Senhaja of Srair, the hostility between the two parties appears less passionate than among the tribes in the vicinity of the Ocean, and it is transformed into a mere antipathy preserved as a memory of the furious fights of the past (3).

3. Among the Jbala of the East, such as Branès, Tsoul, Meghrawa, Senhaja of Gheddo.

The two large leffs no longer play their role in the recent wars, and they have not been seen to oppose each other since the end of the last century. Still more to the East, between the Nkor and the Moulouya, the list of "Bou Tyour" is unknown; nevertheless the tribes still range themselves in one or the other of the two parties. The leffs are no more than a mere historical memory there.

616 648 174 In spite of the slight activity shown in our day by the leffs of the north of Morocco, it is nevertheless certain that the hostility of the Senhaja and the Ghomara in the past was very passionate. Beyond the historical evidence, we have proof of it in the fact that everyone still knows for a great distance the name of the tribes allied to his own. It is therefore much easier than in the Atlas of the Masmouda to reconstruct the general arrangement of the alliances, although each informant is scarcely acquainted with any territory except that of his own tribe.

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616 In putting these alliances back on the map, one perceives
648 immediately that the region in which the two leffs are still sometimes found fighting, among the western Jbala, also corresponds to the one in which the alliances are formed of smaller units. Two large opposed masses of Ghomara and Senhaja exist in the center of the mountainous chain. They are, on the one hand,
[619] the Ghomara tribes properly speaking, to the southeast of
[131] Tétouan /208/ between the Lao wadi, the Ouringa wadi, the crest of the chain of the Rif, and the Mediterranean; and, on the other hand, the Senhaja of Srair, of Gheddo, and of Mosbah, around the summit of the Tidighin and in the surroundings of the Wergha. Farther away, toward the East, reappears the almost regular alternation of tribes belonging to one or the other of the two leffs, but it happens at the same time that these are larger or more populous than in the western Jbel.

000 Finally, the tribes of the Gharb /Rharb/, of the Fès /Fez/ plain, and of the Taza corridor themselves enter by degrees, and as though by a desire for imitation, one might say, into the two great alliances of the North, without this adherence appearing to modify their historic role of tributaries that are turbulent and prompt to rebel against the Makhzen /makhzan/ of the towns of the North.

121 XIV. The formation of the leffs of the Ghomara and of the
178 Senhaja. -- A comparison of the present state of the north of Mo-
616 rocco with the one that is described for us by El Bekri at the end of the eleventh century permits seeing the nature of the transformations that occurred in this region and understanding the conditions under which were formed the two great leffs whose balanced distribution we observe today.

619 Eight centuries ago the territory of the Ghomara stretched
131 over a land much larger than the one that serves them as habitat today. To the West they reached as far as the river of Tétouan, and on all their western boundaries allied and friendly Masmoudian populations extended, forming a long band oriented from North to South, from the banks of the strait, passing by way of the Jbel

/208 cont./

619 131 °Alam, up to the Wergha. In particular they were the Koutama, Rehouna, Ghezawa, Beni Messara. Beyond, toward the West, in the Atlantic plain from Arzila to Anfa, the Beni Hassan, a Ghomarian population by origin, ensured, through the agency of the Berghwata, Doukkala, and Regraga, continuity of territory up to the Masmouda of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. The only [563] foreign element was a small group of Senhaja settled around Tanger /Tangier/, jutting out in a point toward Tétouan (1).

1. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, p. 134; El Bekri, de Slane trans., Algiers, 1913, pp. 207-210. [127] Moreover, we have utilized the manuscript notes of M. G.-S. Colin, who identified on the spot a certain number of the points mentioned by El Bekri.

To the south of the western Rif, the Ghomara united with the Masmouda /map appears here/ /209/ stopped at the Wergha. The [616] Beni Zerwal, given by Ibn Khaldoun sometimes in the one or the [648] other of the two leffs, rather appear to have been Ghomara, judging by their constant fights against their neighbors, Beni Ouriaglel of the Senhaja leff, fights that were prolonged from the time of Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/ up to our day (1).

1. Léon l'Africain, Vol. II, p. 300.

000 The left bank of the Wergha was then, as at present, held by small Senhaja tribes who were doubtless the Almoravide "gich" /gish; see pp. 477 and 480/ charged with keeping in awe the mountain populations of the North.

619 131 At the time, impossible to specify, when the Senhaja of Srair had not yet advanced toward the north in the direction of the sea, and when they doubtless formed a single bloc with the Senhaja of Mosbah and of Gheddo, the Mtiwa, another Ghomarian population that we now find broken up into three tribes, were to extend from the sea to the Wergha through the present-day

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 283]

2: Montagne--280 E-5 (c. 1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh
Rif MX3

/Left side of map facing p. 208 in the original source/

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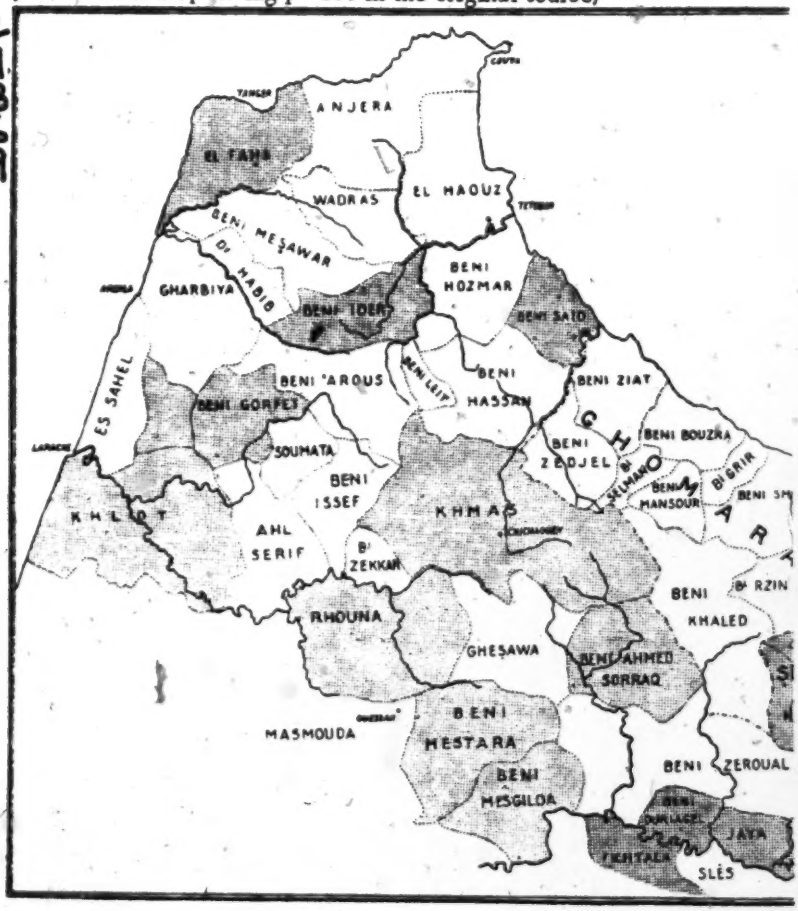

2: Montagne--281 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh
Rif MX3

/Center part of map facing p. 208 in the original source/

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The two Leffs of the North of Morocco in the 20th century
The territories of the Tribes of the Senhaja àlam are shaded; those of the Tribes of the Ghomara àlam are in white

Scale $\frac{1}{800,000}$

/"Sreir" is spelled "Srair" in the text./

2: Montagne--282 E-5 (c. 1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh
Rif MX3

/Right side of map facing p. 208 in the original source/

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/210 cont./

619 Thus it is that there is substituted, little by little, for the
648 idea of a struggle of races that of "ᶜalam," of political and military alliance. /211/ Examples of groups that have thus changed sides are given still in our day: the Mtiwa of the Rif, it is said at present, were formerly Senhaja, after having been Ghomara several centuries ago. They became Ghomara again; likewise, the Oulad Bou Slama, a small tribe formerly attached to the Senhaja of Srair, passed over to the Ghomari "ᶜalam"; by such changes of alliance, voluntary or forced, is thus doubtless explained the presence, in the center of the former country of the Ghomara, of groups of the Beni Ider, Beni Gorfet, Rehouna, of the Senhaji "ᶜalam."

619 Many points still remain obscure, it is true, in the distribu-
- 616 tion of the tribes of the Moroccan North between the two leffs.
648 The presence of Senhaja groups around Tétouan, the existence of two groups of Beni Saïd from the same leff on the coast at the two extremities of the Rif, the descent of the Senhaja of Srair toward Yallich, which they regard as their port, or the possession of Nekor by the Beni Ouriaghel are facts that seem to us poorly explained. Nevertheless it suffices to examine the map of the two "ᶜalam" in our time and to compare it with the indications of the Arab historians and geographers on the origin and ancient position of the tribes in order to be convinced of one important fact: by the normal interaction of the life of the sedentary tribes, the opposition that takes the form of war between two races tends to disappear; it becomes that of two large political leffs that little by little become balanced, fraction their units, so that in the chain of the Rif peopled with Senhaja and Ghomara the struggle of the tribes comes to grow similar, thanks to the forgetting of origins, to that of the cantons of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ of the Masmouda (1).

1. Compare A. Bernard, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Borders/, p. 105, on the large leffs, Beni Snassen and Angad.

S
*631 /293/ Finally, the rights of suzerainty that the sedentary or
423 nomadic tribes acquired over the qsars /fortified places/ harassed
571 by plunderers come to create other obligations and causes of
578 conflict. These circumstances are favorable for the establish-
ment of a strong power dominating the anarchic dust of the
S
[121] families. Their study goes beyond the limits of our work, but
their existence suffices to explain the difference that the organi-
zation and political evolution of the Berbère /Berber/ tribes near
the Sahara and those of the sedentary ones of the Atlas or Anti-
Atlas may present.

R
XII. The amghars of the Rif. -- At first sight, one might
634 expect to find in the mountainous regions of the north of Mo-
631 rocco, among the Jbala and in the Rif, a development of per-
171 sonal power comparable to the one that we have observed in the
Sous. In reality, here, as there, the action that the Makhzen
/makhzan/ carried out on the tribes in the nineteenth century
remained distant and did not venture to come to break up the
efforts of the minor chiefs in their beginnings. Pashas established
in the towns at Fès /Fez/, Wezzan, Larache, Taza governed at a
great distance through the agency of caliphates named in the
mountains, and since the authority of the latter was weak, the
R
Berbère /Berber/ or Arab populations lived in a situation very
•[616] close to independence. Moreover, the village and canton re-
publican institutions, the size of the small autonomous states,
the division into leffs created, it seems, circumstances favorable
for the appearance of personal power, analogous to the ones that
we found in the Atlas of the Masmouda.

R
Nevertheless, contrary influences were to make themselves
634 felt to limit narrowly the chiefs' authority. We have mentioned
631 the importance of the private wars in the western Rif that some-
614 times led to the disappearance of entire villages in a few years.
578 The repetition of these struggles for long centuries ended in the
consolidation of veritable clans, patriarchal and agnatic families
augmented by clients and allies, whose persistence becomes
necessary to the very life of the individual. The khoms is thus
made up of a certain number of clans, "tarfiqt," all independent
of one another, ready to separate at the least pretext. Old

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619 648 in the creation of a kind of political chessboard analogous to the one that we found among the Masmouda, subsided for a time.

175 726 [648] Several years of peace -- from 1898 to 1903 -- were followed by the passing of the pretender Bou Hamara and soon by the intervention of Spain on the coasts of the Rif beginning from 1909. Anarchy broke out anew; other leffs were again constituted [616] [634] around the two rival fractions of Targist, winning all the country from the West to the East, from the Beni Gmil to the Beni Amret. It was in the course of these combats that there then appeared and grew important such amghars as El Hajj Beqqich, in the north of the Gzennaya, Mohammed ᶜAbdallah of the Ijaᶜounen, in the tribe of the Beni Amret, Mesaᶜoud of Aqqa among the Beni Gmil.

634 [171] /296/ These minor chiefs then are masters more absolute in their tribes than the Masmouda amghars of the same importance; they do not find themselves in fact inconvenienced by the tradition of the oligarchic inflas councils, nor by the memory of the moqaddem's role. Nevertheless, like the amghars of the Haut-[174] [681] [434] Atlas /High Atlas/, they share with the notables the fines paid by the guilty, taking a third when they are still weak and nearly all when they have solidly established their power. In the cantons [614] [581] that they dominate, they establish other amghars chosen from among the strongest "tarfiqt" chiefs and bind them to them by marriages. The authority that they acquire in this way is such that they are capable of conducting far and wide, across the neighboring tribes, expeditions to a distance of a day's march, in order to go to make their word respected and to punish their adversaries. El Hajj Beqqich did this; leaving from the sources of the Nkor, he went with his horsemen to wreak vengeance on his enemies as far as Ajdir.

175 721 634 648 [669] At the time of the great movement for a holy war against Spain in 1921, the amghars figured at the head of the Riffian contingents. We see them take part with ardor in the battle of Anoual. But when ᶜAbd el Kerim, his relatives and companions from the village of Ajdir take, by means of the "Jihad," the command of the Beni Ouriaghel, organize a little state, bend the surrounding tribes to their will in order better to direct the fight